

THE ODE PICTURES OF THE
ARISTOCRATIC PSALTER
RECENSION

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ONE of the most if not the most controversial manuscript in the history of book illumination is the Psalter in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale cod. gr. 139.¹ The problems surrounding this Psalter and the related manuscripts of the aristocratic Psalter recension² are so complex that the full story has yet to be told. In brief, the controversy has centered on the following points. According to Rufus Morey, the manuscript dates to the seventh-eighth century and its miniatures were executed by refugee artists from Alexandria; I myself took a fundamentally different position, dating it in the tenth century and considering the miniatures creations of the Macedonian Renaissance in which an older tradition was essentially altered; Hugo Buchthal accepted the tenth-century date, but believed the miniatures to be basically faithful copies of an Early Christian model.³ Suffice it to say that all three of us were too narrow in approach when we started our investigations with the preconceived idea that the Paris Psalter was the copy closest to the archetype. All three of us had neglected to take into consideration a sufficient number of copies and to undertake the task with which a philologist begins: the collation of all existing copies of the text. A more recent approach with the aid of additional material has led to the realization that, first, the scenes from the life of David were not invented for the Psalter but were taken over from the Books of Kings, of which the eleventh-century copy in the Vatican, cod. gr. 333,⁴ and the epitomized cycle in the *Sacra Parallela* manuscript in Paris, cod. gr. 923, from the ninth century,⁵ are the best witnesses; and, second, that there were several

¹ A. Grünwald, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pariser Psalters Ms. grec. 139* (Brno, 1929); C. R. Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures," *ArtB*, 11 (1929), 21 ff.; K. Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter ms. grec. 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance," *JbKw*, 6 (1929), 178 ff.; H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter: A Study in Middle Byzantine Painting* (London, 1938) (hereafter, Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*).

² For the distinction between the "aristocratic" and "monastic" Psalter recensions, cf. J. J. Tikkanen, "Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, XXXI, no. 5 (Helsingfors, 1903).

³ Cf. the remarks about this controversy in K. Weitzmann, "Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance," *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*, 107 (Cologne-Opladen, 1963), 7 ff. (= "The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. L. Kessler [Chicago, 1971] [hereafter, *Studies*], 176 ff.).

⁴ This manuscript was introduced into the literature by J. Lassus, "Les miniatures byzantines du Livre des Rois," *MélRome*, 45 (1928), 38 ff. Now completely published by Lassus, *L'illustration byzantine du Livre des Rois*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, IX (Paris, 1973).

⁵ For this richly illustrated manuscript, of which only a few miniatures have been published to date, cf. J. Rendel Harris, *Fragments of Philo Judaeus* (Cambridge, 1886); K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX. und X. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1935), 80 and pl. LXXXVI; *idem*, "The Illustration of the Septuagint," in *Studies*, 56 f., 62 f., and figs. 35–36, 41, 43–44; A. Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne* (Paris, 1972), 21 ff., pls. 6–11; K. Weitzmann, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination, Past, Present and Future," in K. Weitzmann, W. C. Loerke, E. Kitzinger, H. Buchthal, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1975), 17 ff., and figs. 14 and 16; *idem*, "The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts," in *Byzantine*

Psalters with David scenes which were far closer to the basic cycle of the Books of Kings than the Paris Psalter.⁶ These observations led to the conclusion that the Paris Psalter, although it is artistically one of the most outstanding creations of Byzantine book illumination, does *not* reflect the earliest phase of the aristocratic Psalter recension, but an advanced stage in its development.

But if, as I believe has been proved, the scenes from David's life preceding the text of the Psalms were taken over from an illustrated manuscript of the Books of Kings, then the pictures of the Odes should also be investigated to determine whether they, too, were not taken over from the basic texts rather than invented for the collection of Odes appended to the Psalter. For some of them this has already been suggested in various publications; the present study will attempt to prove it true for each one. Moreover, it is my intention to trace not only the first step of the transfer from one textual unit to another, but to follow in some detail the series of transformations undergone by the Ode pictures. Because of the richness of the material—the Psalter is the most often illustrated book of the Old Testament because of its liturgical significance—in no other picture cycle can we follow so closely with regard to both form and content a morphological process stimulated by diverse influences.

Traditionally, narrative Septuagint illustration had taken the form of strip pictures intercalated into the text,⁷ and this type of picture—typical not only of the Books of Kings mentioned above but, as we shall see, of the Octateuchs and other Old Testament texts also—was adapted for the archetype of the aristocratic Psalters. Then, by a formal process, either two superimposed strips were fused on a single page, or only one was selected and turned into a full-page miniature. Not long after a stately, panel-like format was developed, artists began to take advantage of the possibilities for embellishment, exploiting them most thoroughly during the Macedonian Renaissance. But not even the classicizing pictures exemplified in the Paris Psalter were the final solution, and a reaction set in during the eleventh century which tended to spiritualize and give a liturgical connotation to the Ode compositions, making them part of the mainstream of Byzantine art.

These general phases cannot be demonstrated in every detail for each of the Ode pictures, and a particular transformation may be more strongly recognizable in some than in others. This surely is due in part to the incompleteness of the extant material, but perhaps not entirely. Some pictures are more suitable than others for either the classicizing or the liturgical mode. But these are details and, as I shall try to demonstrate, they do not affect the more general changes.

Books and Bookmen. A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium (Washington, D. C., 1975), 84, 87, 97, and figs. 21, 28, 45, 47. A full publication of the miniatures is in press: K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela. Parisinus Graecus 923*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, VIII (Princeton).

⁶ K. Weitzmann, "The Psalter Vatopedi 761. Its Place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," *JWalt*, 10 (1947) (hereafter Weitzmann, "Psalter Vatopedi"), 32ff.

⁷ For the principles of early Septuagint illustration in general, cf. Weitzmann, "The Illustration of the Septuagint," in *Studies*, 45ff.

The Exodus Ode (Exod. 15:1–19)

The material connected with the first Ode is so rich that in the archetype the illustration must have filled two full pages, thus accenting strongly the beginning of the series of Odes. There are four scenes involved, forming two distinct pairs. The first pair comprises the events immediately preceding the Crossing of the Red Sea: the Pursuit by Pharaoh's Army and the Arrival of the Israelites at the Red Sea. In the Octateuchs such as that of the Seraglio⁸ and the lost one of Smyrna⁹ they form two successive strip-like scenes, one above the other. That these scenes were taken over into the aristocratic Psalter recension is proved by the codex Vatopedi 760 on Mount Athos (fig. 1), a provincial product from about the eleventh-twelfth century which, being *retardataire*, has preserved in many of its miniatures the most original form.¹⁰ Here, on two full-page miniatures facing each other, we see first the pursuing Egyptian cavalry without, however, Pharaoh on a *quadriga*, a detail which was eliminated as the result of a change to a vertical format; in the scene of the Arrival, where Moses, holding his staff, leads the Elders, only the column of fire is missing.

The second pair consists of the Crossing of the Red Sea and the Dance of Miriam accompanied by the music of the Israelite women, scenes which are likewise consecutive in the above-mentioned Octateuchs.¹¹ The first scene, though turned into a full-page miniature, has still preserved its strip-like character—so essential to narrative illustration—in the small pocket-size Psalter in the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos, cod. 761, dated A.D. 1088 (fig. 2).¹² The second scene with the dancing women exists separately in another pocket-size Psalter in the British Museum, cod. add. 36928, from A.D. 1090 (fig. 7).¹³ The recto of the page illustrating the first Ode shows the Crossing of the Red Sea as a full-page miniature, almost completely flaked, while on the verso the scene of the dancing women is the lower of two strips, the upper of which we will describe later. Four women dance a typical Greek *choros*, while a fifth beats the drum. There is known to me only one Psalter combining all four scenes on two full pages, a twelfth-thirteenth-century codex in the Public Library in New York, Spencer Coll. cod. gr. 1 (figs. 4a, b).¹⁴ One page shows the Pursuit and the Arrival at the Red Sea squeezed under one arch, and the other the Crossing conflated with the rejoicing women, of whom only Miriam with the cymbals remains. Yet, while these two miniatures have preserved the full

⁸ T. Ouspensky, *L'octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople* (Sofia, 1907), pl. xxi, 118.

⁹ D. C. Hesselning, *Miniatures de l'octateuque grec de Smyrne*, Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti, Suppl. VI (Leiden, 1909), 58 and fig. 177.

¹⁰ About this incompletely published manuscript, cf. G. Millet and S. Der Nersessian, in *REArm*, 9 (1929), 165 and pls. xiii–xiv.

¹¹ Ouspensky, *Octateuque du Sérail*, pl. xxii, 121–122; Hesselning, *Octateuque de Smyrne*, 59 and figs. 189–90.

¹² Millet and Der Nersessian, in *REArm*, 176 and pl. xii, 2 (here the old signature 609); Weitzmann, "Psalter Vatopedi," 27 and fig. 11.

¹³ *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1900–1905* (London, 1907; rep. 1969), 257 ff.

¹⁴ *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections. An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. G. Vikan (Princeton, 1973), no. 47, p. 168 ff. and figs. 83–85.

program, their original arrangement in strips has been sacrificed to a more fashionable full-page format. I believe that in the original arrangement the Pursuit and Arrival at the Red Sea formed the upper strip on facing pages, and the Crossing and the the Women's Dance filled the lower. Not only is such an arrangement suggested by the scene of the dancing women in the London Psalter, where it is found in the proper place, but it is strongly supported by a miniature in the thirteenth-century Psalter of Queen Constance in the National Museum of Palermo (fig. 3).¹⁵ Here the upper of two strips depicts the Arrival at the Red Sea, which would have required the Pursuit to the left, and the lower strip once more comprises the dancing women, requiring the Crossing on the opposite page, which must have existed in a richer model.

Squeezing the Crossing into a high format as in Vatopedi 761 (fig. 2) was artistically not a satisfactory solution. The space would better be filled compositionally by superimposing its two halves, placing Moses Closing the Red Sea above the drowning Egyptian army, although the iconographical coherence would suffer from placing Moses in a spot where his action is less convincing. This compositional rearrangement was made at least as early as the end of the ninth century, for it occurs in a miniature of the well-known manuscript of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr. 510, dated between 880 and 886.¹⁶ In view of the fact that this manuscript has other scenes which surely depend on an aristocratic Psalter¹⁷ we assume that in this case also a Psalter miniature served as model. With the dancing Miriam in a prominent position, this miniature is clearly a fusion of the second pair of scenes.

The next stage in the development is best represented in the corresponding miniature of the Paris Psalter (fig. 5).¹⁸ On the one hand the dancing figure of Miriam is omitted, and thus an essential element of the biblical narrative is lost, while on the other hand the illustrator's interest centers on the display of as many personifications as possible: Erythra Thalassa with a rudder over her shoulder in the lower right, Bythos dragging Pharaoh into the sea, Eremos seated on the shore and praying, and a bust of Nyx in the sky. Since all these personifications appear also in the miniatures of the Octateuchs of the Seraglio and of Smyrna, it would seem that they belong to the archetype of the Octateuchs. Yet, to repeat an argument made before,¹⁹ they do not, with the exception of Nyx, appear in the best of the Octateuchs, the eleventh-century codex Vaticanus gr. 747, and furthermore such an accumulation of personifications is found only in this one miniature within the Pentateuch. This seems to indicate that we are dealing with the retroactive influence of this particular Psalter miniature upon the Octateuchs. It will be noticed that the miniature in the Paris Gregory has Erythra Thalassa but none of the other personifi-

¹⁵ E. Martini, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane*, I (Milan, 1893), 141-46.

¹⁶ H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XIV^e siècle* (Paris 1929) (hereafter, Omont, *Miniatures*), pl. XLII.

¹⁷ K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1970) (hereafter, Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*), 149ff. and pl. XLI, 137.

¹⁸ Omont, *Miniatures*, 8 and pl. IX; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 30ff. and pl. IX.

¹⁹ Weitzmann, "Psalter Vatopedi," 36ff. and fig. 23.

cations, and therefore we conclude that they were not introduced all at the same time, but, instead, gradually, during the Macedonian Renaissance.

One more detail of the Paris Psalter miniature remains to be discussed. The group of Israelites is led by a young man not unlike Moses but without nimbus, and therefore surely not a repetition of his figure. He is looking up to heaven and raising his hands in a gesture of prayer. In the corresponding miniature of Vat. gr. 747 a woman heads the group, and the same is true for the composition in the Psalters in New York (fig. 4b) and Vatopedi cod. 761 (fig. 2), the manuscripts which follow the basic biblical cycle most closely. In the discussion of the other Ode pictures we will note that in each case a praying figure faces the beginning of the Ode text, and therefore should be understood as the author figure of the Ode. So the illustrator of the Paris Psalter seems to imply that the figure should be understood as Moses after all, although he is depicted as one of the Israelites. The beginning of the Ode itself, "Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song," is ambiguous and could be interpreted either way. The miniature in Paris. gr. 510 already has a praying figure in this place, but he is bearded and thus clearly distinguished from Moses.

The Deuteronomy Ode (Deut. 32:1-43)

In analogy to all the other Odes, one would expect for the Deuteronomy Ode an illustration of chapter thirty-two of the fifth Book of Moses, and indeed it can be shown that originally the aristocratic Psalter recension had such a miniature, copied directly from the Octateuchs. Proof rests once more on the provincial Psalter Vatopedi 760, which has in its proper place a full-page miniature²⁰ where Moses sits on the top of a hillock and sings the Ode, the beginning of which is written on an unrolled scroll (fig. 6). In the lower register Joshua stands listening in the midst of two groups of Israelite Elders. This miniature actually is a conflation of two Octateuch scenes, most accurately preserved in Vat. gr. 747,²¹ the first of which shows Moses seated and singing the Ode before a group of Israelites, and the second, Moses standing and addressing Joshua and another group of Israelites. While in the Octateuchs the two scenes are placed side by side, in the Psalter miniature one is above the other, with the effect that the seated Moses becomes an isolated figure, no longer visibly part of the biblical narrative but assuming the role of an author figure. His right hand is raised in a gesture of blessing, and his face is turned toward the spectator. The two zones share a common hilly background, but that in an earlier stage the Psalter still separated the superimposed strips is proved by the little London Psalter (fig. 7) where one sees, above the strip with Miriam and the dancing women, a very badly destroyed scene which can only be interpreted as Moses seated on a hillock, flanked by groups of Israelites. In this modestly decorated Psalter there are only two miniatures, one on the recto and the other on the verso of the same folio, prefacing the series of Odes, and the artist combined scenes from the first two Odes on the verso page.

²⁰ Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 131 and pl. xxxvi, 113.

²¹ *Ibid.*, and pl. xxxvi, 112.

However, at some time, in the branch of the aristocratic Psalters of which the Paris Psalter is the prime representative, the Deuteronomy picture was replaced by a scene of Moses Receiving the Law, a picture whose original place in the Psalter was before Psalm 77, and was now attached to an Ode which it does not illustrate. The miniature closest to the biblical narrative is preserved in a Psalter formerly in the Theological Seminary of the University of Berlin, from the end of the eleventh century (fig. 8).²² It preserves the original strip composition, the upper register comprising two scenes, the Loosening of the Sandals, which in the Octateuchs illustrates Exodus 3:2, and the Receiving of the Law, which is closest to the Octateuch picture for Exodus 31:18.²³ The lower strip is a conflation of two biblical events: Moses showing the tablets to Joshua according to Exodus 32:17 and addressing the Elders according to Exodus 19:17.²⁴ In another copy, Vatopedi 761, where the miniature (now cut out and preserved in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore [fig. 9],²⁵) once likewise prefaced Psalm 77, the usual transformation begins, with the elimination of the separation into strips and with all scenes placed before a common background. Moreover, the scene of Moses Teaching is now in mirror reversal and thus faces the beginning of the Ode text. In a third example, Athens, National Library cod. 15 from the twelfth century,²⁶ the biblical narrative is shortened by the elimination of the Loosening of the Sandals, while at the same time Moses Teaching at the lower right is made more prominent, by the combination of the act of teaching with the pose of a frontal-standing author.

All these changes took place within the Psalter recension before the picture was turned, in the Paris Psalter,²⁷ into a frontispiece to the Second Ode. Now, not only the scene of the Loosening of the Sandals, of which only a pair of sandals remains, but also the teaching scene was omitted. Instead, two new additions were made: first, in the lower left corner, the personification of the mountain Sinai, who became a standard figure within the Renaissance group of Psalters, as for instance in the Psalter at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington (formerly Pantocratoros 49), from the year 1084;²⁸ and, second, the figures of Moses

²² G. Stuhlfauth, "A Greek Psalter with Byzantine Miniatures," *ArtB*, 15 (1933), 322 and fig. 11; Weitzmann, "Psalter Vatopedi," 33 and fig. 19.

²³ Weitzmann, "Psalter Vatopedi," fig. 18 and 20.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, figs. 20–21.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 27 and fig. 1.

²⁶ P. Buberl, *Die Miniaturenhandschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Athen* (Vienna, 1917) (hereafter, Buberl, *Handschriften Athen*), no. 10, p. 16 and pl. xx, 49.

²⁷ Omont, *Miniatures*, 8 and pl. x; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 33 and pl. x. Hans Belting in a recent article ("Zum Palatina-Psalter des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift für Otto Demus zum 70. Geburtstag* = *JÖB*, 21 [1972], 25) defended the Receiving of the Law as the subject of the original illustration of the Second Ode, considering the miniature of the Psalter Vatopedi 760 (*ibid.*, note 24), a provincial Anatolian product, as an exception. However, the London Psalter add. 36928 (fig. 7), clearly in the Constantinopolitan tradition, is proof that the Deuteronomy picture of Moses singing the Ode was by no means confined to a provincial branch of the aristocratic Psalter recension. Moreover, that in every one of the twelve Odes, as the present study tries to prove, the tradition began with a miniature illustrating the very Ode text it accompanies, in my opinion indicates strongly that the Deuteronomy picture was the original illustration of the Deuteronomy Ode.

²⁸ Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 38 and pl. xxv, 38; S. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 19 (1965) (hereafter, Der Nersessian, "Psalter and New Testament MS"), 165 and fig. 10.

facing the Hand of God. Elsewhere I have demonstrated that the type of Moses who, for no clear reason, points in astonishment with one hand to his face and with the other to the ground is derived from yet another Octateuch figure, that of Moses before the Burning Bush prior to loosening his sandals.²⁹ But while I had previously assumed that this Moses figure, too, must have existed in the Psalter archetype, I am no longer so certain, and must admit the possibility that the illustrator of the Paris Psalter consulted anew an Octateuch when he needed a figure to conform with the new layout of the Ode pictures wherein a praying figure faced the text of each Ode. Although betraying his derivation from a narrative Moses type, the function of the new figure is that of the author of the Ode, and as such he is compositionally more prominent than Moses Receiving the Law or the personification in the left corner. Thus, at the height of the Macedonian Renaissance, classicizing elements begin to be overshadowed by liturgical considerations.

The Ode of Hannah (1 Kings 2:1–10)

The third Ode, the thanksgiving of Hannah after the birth of Samuel, forms the beginning of the second chapter of the first Book of Kings, and in analogy to the previous examples we would expect its illustration to have been taken over from this historical book. Actually, the only fully illustrated copy, the previously mentioned cod. Vat. gr. 333, begins with dense illustration of the first two chapters, including a praying Hannah (fig. 10).³⁰ However, she does not relate to the singing of the Ode but to verses 9–10 of the first chapter in which she prays before Eli the priest, vowing that if she be blessed with a child she “will give him unto the Lord.” The most peculiar feature of this scene is that, anticipating the fulfillment of her prayer, little Samuel stands in front of her, also raising his hands in supplication. This scene was taken over into the Psalter in the Athens National Library, cod. 7, from the twelfth century (fig. 11),³¹ with Hannah and the child Samuel facing each other in such a similar way that the derivation of this Psalter miniature from that of the Books of Kings cannot be doubted. Yet, despite the same iconography, the meaning here is different: the Psalter illustrator obviously wanted to represent at the beginning of the Ode text Hannah singing the Ode after the birth of Samuel, who, therefore, is no longer to be understood as an anticipation, but as the child born.

In the Paris Psalter (fig. 12)³² the child Samuel is omitted and Hannah is moved close to the right border, preempting the position of the Ode’s author, while the rest of the picture area is filled with classicizing architecture in front of a mountain. However, two copies of the classicizing group, the Psalter at

²⁹ Weitzmann, “Psalter Vatopedi,” 47 and figs. 8, 30.

³⁰ K. Weitzmann, “The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts” (*supra*, note 5), 74 and figs. 5a,b.

³¹ Buberl, *Handschriften Athen*, 14ff., does not record this miniature. A Delatte, *Les manuscrits à miniatures et à ornements des bibliothèques d’Athènes* (Liège-Paris, 1926) (hereafter, *Manuscrits à miniatures*), 79.

³² Omont, *Miniatures*, 9 and pl. XI; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 39 and pl. XI.

Dumbarton Oaks (fig. 13)³³ and the one in Paris, Bibl. Nat. cod. suppl. gr. 610,³⁴ have an additional scene. At the left we see Hannah a second time, seated and holding the child in her lap. Since in the previous Ode pictures and, as we shall see, in the following ones also, the rule is to have two episodes to a frame, the question may well be asked whether this figure, who in both copies sits in front of an architectural backdrop derived from an ancient *temenos*, was part of the Psalter archetype. Such a group does not exist in the basic cycle of the Books of Kings, i.e., in Vat. gr. 333, where, however, the birth of Samuel is depicted most realistically at the very moment of delivery. Whether such a scene was ever taken over into the Psalter, or whether in its archetype it had already been replaced by the present group, illustrating the fulfillment of the prayer, is a matter of speculation. The mother and child are obviously inspired by the Virgin holding the Christ Child, a group more fitting for the liturgical Psalter Ode³⁵ than a realistic birth scene.

The liturgical tendencies are even stronger in some thirteenth-century Psalters, in which Hannah is rendered in proskynesis,³⁶ the devotional pose so characteristic of the Byzantine rite.

The Ode of Habakkuk (Hab. 3:2–19)

In analogy to the other Odes, one would expect here an illustration based on an illustrated Prophet Book. Unfortunately, none with a narrative cycle has survived; yet, that such cycles existed can be proved for several of the minor and all of the major Prophets on the evidence of stray miniatures in the previously cited *Sacra Parallela* manuscript in Paris, gr. 923,³⁷ among which, however, there are none from Habakkuk. A literal and very expressive illustration of the Ode passage is preserved in the Psalter in Athens, cod. 15 (fig. 14),³⁸ in which the Prophet is depicted trembling (3:16, "his belly trembled and his lips quivered at the voice"), and it is a fair assumption that this scene was not invented for the Ode but rather was taken over from an illustrated Habakkuk.

There is, as we would expect, a second scene in the tradition of the aristocratic Psalters which strangely enough is taken not from Habakkuk but from Daniel (14:32–38), where Habakkuk, borne by an angel through the air, brings food to Daniel in the lions' den. This scene had enjoyed great popularity already in Early Christian art, apart from being the only other passage in the Bible

³³ Der Nersessian, "Psalter and New Testament MS," 170 and fig. 11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 12; Ch. Astruc, "Un Psautier byzantin à frontispices: Le Suppl. Gr. 610," *CahArch*, 3 (1948), 110 and fig. 1.

³⁵ This is not a unique case where a conventional New Testament composition replaces a more specific Old Testament scene. In the Octateuchs the scene of Pharaoh giving the order to kill the Jewish offspring is replaced by a scene of the birth of Moses, shaped after that of the Birth of the Virgin: K. Weitzmann, "The Octateuch of the Seraglio and the History of its Picture Recension," *Actes du Xe Congrès d'Et. Byz.* (Istanbul, 1957), 184 and figs. 5–6 (the captions of the illustrations should be exchanged).

³⁶ E.g., in the Psalter in London, Brit. Mus. cod. add. 11836, fol. 300^r (H. Willoughby, "Codex 2400 and its Miniatures," *ArtB*, 15 [1933], 65; V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* [Turin, 1967] [hereafter, Lazarev, *Storia*], 279), and Athens, Benaki Museum cod. Vit. 34–12, fol. 183^v.

³⁷ Weitzmann, *Studies*, 63ff. and figs. 43–44.

³⁸ Buberl, *Handschriften Athen*, 15 (here wrongly interpreted as Moses) and pl. xxxi, 52; Delatte, *Manuscripts à miniatures*, 84 and pl. xxxiib.

where Habakkuk is mentioned, and it may be for these reasons that it was introduced in the Psalter archetype to complete a pair. Its earliest reflection is in a miniature in the Gregory manuscript in Paris, cod. 510 (fig. 15),³⁹ where its derivation from a Psalter with Odes is assured by the fact that it is grouped together on a page with three other scenes, each from a different Ode, the combination finding no explanation in the Gregory text.⁴⁰

The Habakkuk picture in the Paris Psalter is lost but it is reasonable to suppose that it resembled that in the Psalter in Dumbarton Oaks⁴¹ and the related miniature in Paris, suppl. gr. 610 which is better preserved and also reflects the Renaissance model more faithfully (fig. 16).⁴² Here we are faced with the same triple transformation noted in the substituted Deuteronomy picture of Moses Receiving the Law. First, there is the elimination of the element of the biblical narrative which has the least connection with the Ode text, Daniel in the lions' den; secondly, a personification of the city of Babylon with mural crown and cornucopia is added in the lower left corner (the same place as that occupied by the mountain god Sinai); and, thirdly, the praying author of the Ode takes his usual place facing the right border. The only element of the biblical narrative remaining is the figure of Habakkuk borne through the air. The result of these transformations is iconographical nonsense,⁴³ since it now looks as if Habakkuk is bringing food to Habakkuk; the artist, probably not unaware of this incongruity, has sacrificed rational coherence to the prominent display of a praying author.

The final stage in the development is concentration on the standing, praying figure by the omission of all else, as exemplified in the Psalter in Athens, Nat. Lib., cod. 7 (fig. 17).⁴⁴

The Ode of Isaiah (Isa. 26:9–20)

The most literal illustration of the beginning of the Isaiah Ode, "With my soul have I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early," is found in the Psalter in Athens, cod. 15 (fig. 18),⁴⁵ the same manuscript which had the most literal illustration of the Habakkuk Ode. The phrase "I seek thee" is pictorially rendered by the Prophet in a hurrying motion which clearly suggests his going to search. He is led by a boy who turns back to make sure that the Prophet is following and holds in his left hand a candle, suggesting that it is still dark though at the very break of dawn.

As in the Habakkuk Ode, a second scene is taken from a different context, but in this case the scene is at least from the same Prophet Book. Here again it is the most popular scene used for supplementation, the Prophet's vision according to chapter 6. That it entered the aristocratic Psalter most likely

³⁹ Omont, *Miniatures*, 30 and pl. LVII.

⁴⁰ Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 149 and pl. XLI, 137.

⁴¹ Der Nersessian, "Psalter and New Testament MS," 171 and fig. 13.

⁴² *Ibid.*, fig. 14; Astruc, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 34), 111 and fig. 3.

⁴³ Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 162f. and pl. XLV, 157.

⁴⁴ Buberl, *Handschriften Athen*, 15 and pl. XVIII, 44.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 16 (where it is not interpreted); Delatte, *Manuscripts à miniatures*, 84 and pl. XXXIIIa.

already in the archetype is suggested by the Psalter Vatopedi 760 (fig. 19),⁴⁶ the provincial manuscript which also in other cases such as the Exodus (fig. 1) and Deuteronomy (fig. 6) pictures had preserved the earlier stage of purely biblical narrative. It depicts Christ in glory between seraphim and, below, the Prophet receiving the live coal from an angel. In this picture, however, a conflation had already taken place, because in the model there must have been a first figure of Isaiah perceiving the vision, while the second should have received the coal from a seraph rather than from an angel.⁴⁷ Yet, that the correct rendering of Isaiah receiving the coal from a seraph also existed in the Psalter illustration is proved by a miniature in the codex Athens 7.⁴⁸ The Vision of Isaiah occurs in the manuscript of the *Sacra Parallela* (fig. 20)⁴⁹ alongside the proper passage, and this indicates that there existed a book of the Prophet Isaiah with narrative illustrations.

As in the previous cases, here, too, the miniature of the Paris Psalter (fig. 21)⁵⁰ restricts the narrative elements, is embellished with classical elements, and at the same time concentrates on the liturgical aspect. The praying Isaiah alone is left of the picture of the Vision, while of the original Ode picture there remains only the boy, who, however, in the wake of the classicizing process has been turned into a half-naked putto holding a torch instead of a candle, his role as the one who points the way having been abandoned. Perhaps the most beautiful figure created by the Macedonian Renaissance is that of Nyx for which an impressive classical model must have been available. In this case she balances compositionally the praying Prophet. In some later Psalters the classical elements are abandoned and the illustrators concentrate entirely on the praying author, who is depicted either standing⁵¹ or in proskynesis.⁵²

The Ode of Jonah (Jon. 2:3–10)

One of the very best examples demonstrating the derivation of the Ode picture from a biblical narrative is that heading the Jonah Ode, and, significantly, Psalter Vatopedi 760 again leads us closest to the basic source (figs. 22a–b).⁵³ Distributed over two pages are four scenes: Jonah cast into the sea, the whale vomiting out the Prophet, his preaching to the Ninevites, and his resting under the gourd. It should be noted that each of the four scenes is related to a different one of the book's four chapters. Since the Ode text is

⁴⁶ Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 148 and pl. xli, 139.

⁴⁷ A more complete rendering of both scenes combined is preserved in the codex of the homilies of Jacobos Kokkinobaphos, Paris, gr. 1208; *ibid.*, pl. xli, 138.

⁴⁸ Buberl, *Handschriften Athen*, 15 and pl. xix, 45 (here misinterpreted as the Vision of Ezekiel); Delatte, *Manuscrits à miniatures*, 80.

⁴⁹ On folio 39v. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 148.

⁵⁰ Omont, *Miniatures*, 9 and pl. xiii; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 42 and pl. xiii. For similar miniatures in the Psalters in Dumbarton Oaks and Paris, suppl. gr. 610, cf. Der Nersessian, "Psalter and New Testament MS," 170 and figs. 15–16; Astruc, *op. cit.*, 110 and fig. 2.

⁵¹ E.g., in the Psalter in Florence, Laurentian Library, cod. Plut. VI, 36, fol. 362r; Lazarev, *Storia*, 252.

⁵² E.g., in the Psalter in London, Brit. Mus. cod. add. 11836 (cf. note 36), fol. 301v.

⁵³ Millet and Der Nersessian (*supra*, note 10), 177 and pl. xiii; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 41 and pl. xxvi, 80–81.

taken only from chapter 2, it follows that those scenes which are based on chapters 1, 3, and 4 could not have been invented for the Ode but could only have come from a fully illustrated book of Jonah. That this did exist is proved by the manuscript of the *Sacra Parallela* in Paris, where the scenes of Jonah thrown into the sea and vomited forth (fig. 23)⁵⁴ are placed in the margin next to Jonah 1:12, and two more scenes, Jonah preaching in Nineveh and its citizens wearing sackcloth in repentance,⁵⁵ next to Jonah 3:4 and 8.

The four scenes of Vatopedi 760 occur once more grouped together within one frame in the Gregory manuscript Paris. 510.⁵⁶ In view of the fact that, as mentioned above (p. 75), the composite miniature which includes the Habakkuk and three other Ode pictures must come from a Psalter manuscript, it appears quite likely that also the Jonah picture was adopted from a Psalter. This Jonah miniature includes a fifth episode, Jonah embarking at Jaffa for Tarsis; this poses the problem whether this scene, too, was in the Psalter archetype, or whether the artist went back anew to the basic source, namely, an illustrated Prophet book.

Compared with the other Ode pictures of the Paris Psalter, the Jonah picture has preserved more of the biblical narrative.⁵⁷ It shares with the picture in Vatopedi 760 the scenes of Jonah thrown into the sea (though this is very much reduced in scale), vomited forth, and preaching at Nineveh, and omits only the Prophet under the gourd, whereas it adds the standing, praying Jonah where we would expect him to be, near the right side of the frame. It is significant that he is the largest figure in the picture, the scale of whose figures varies greatly; in this way the artist placed special emphasis on him. From an iconographical point of view Jonah praying while being vomited forth would seem to illustrate the prayer sufficiently, and the addition of a second praying Jonah is a redundancy that can only be explained by the illustrator's desire to stress the point to the utmost.

It will be noticed that, in contrast to all preceding pictures of the Paris Psalter, this one is free of classical elements. This is all the more astonishing since the miniature in Vatopedi 760 includes a personification of the Sea, which quite likely was in the Psalter archetype. Yet, that the Macedonian Renaissance had a certain impact even upon the Jonah picture is indicated by the miniature cut from the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter and preserved in the Benaki Museum in Athens (fig. 24)⁵⁸ where the scenes of Jonah cast into the sea and preaching are omitted and are replaced by an elaborate mountain landscape, which includes a *villa rustica* such as we find in Pompeian frescoes.⁵⁹ Concentration on the idea of prayer in this picture is so strong that even the personification

⁵⁴ Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela* (*supra*, note 5), pl. LXXII, 316.

⁵⁵ Weitzmann, *Studies*, 64 and fig. 43; *idem*, *Sacra Parallela*, pl. LXXIII, 317.

⁵⁶ Omont, *Miniatures*, 13 and pl. xx; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 40 and pl. xxvi, 79.

⁵⁷ Omont, *Miniatures*, 9 and pl. xii; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 40 and pl. xii.

⁵⁸ Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 41 and pl. xxvi, 78; Der Nersessian, "Psalter and New Testament MS," 169 and fig. 17.

⁵⁹ K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll. A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1948), 78 and pl. xxiii, 81.

of the Sea, passive in the Vatopedi miniature, here rushes forward extending one arm in a gesture of prayer, thus adding to the surging movement which pervades each of the three figures.

The Odes of the Three Hebrews (Dan. 3:26–45)

To illustrate the two Odes of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, two episodes were chosen from the biblical narrative: the refusal of the three Hebrews to worship the idol when they are brought before King Nebuchadnezzar, and their praying while in the fiery furnace. There is known to me only one Psalter of the aristocratic recension, Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 25, dating as late as the fourteenth century,⁶⁰ which includes the first episode (fig. 25),⁶¹ an event preliminary to the second and, because of its subordinate character, usually omitted. This picture heads the first Ode, while the scene of the Hebrews in the Furnace prefaces the second. But whether this is the original arrangement or whether they were united before the first Ode in the Psalter archetype is an open question. Two reasons, though not conclusive, favor the second alternative. First, the biblical narrative would not be interrupted and, secondly, the picture of the Refusal has the character of a frieze picture squeezed into a vertical format: one need only look at the throne with one of its legs placed upon the base of the column and the two guards, usually flanking a ruler, relegated to a narrow space behind the throne. But if the model was a strip picture, then it is tempting to think that, in accordance with the earlier Ode pictures we have discussed, the archetype was a miniature with two superimposed strips, the Refusal above and the Fiery Furnace scene below.

The second miniature of the Moscow manuscript represents the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace with the protecting angel hovering over them (fig. 26).⁶² But this, obviously, is an abbreviation of a fuller scene, which in its most complete state is preserved in the Psalter Vatopedi 760 (figs. 27a–b). It actually consists of two opposing full-page miniatures: the one depicting the Hebrews in the furnace whose fire is fanned by some workmen, and the other showing King Nebuchadnezzar giving the order to a group of soldiers, some of whom turn around and look at the scene of its execution. Thus, the two actions were performed simultaneously and in this way they were already joined in the biblical narrative. In the *Sacra Parallela* manuscript, where all scenes, because of their placement in the margin, were by necessity abbreviated, the depiction of the Three Hebrews in the Furnace⁶³ still includes Nebuchadnezzar, although the soldiers, except for one bodyguard behind the King, are omitted, so that the ruler faces the Hebrews at close range.

In the Paris Psalter this miniature is lost, but it does exist in a miniature in the Benaki Museum in Athens which, again, was cut out from the Dumbarton

⁶⁰ M. V. Alpatoff, "A Byzantine Illuminated Manuscript of the Palaeologue Epoch in Moscow," *ArtB*, 12 (1930), 207ff., esp. 214 and figs. 6–7.

⁶¹ In the marginal Psalters, however, it is common to have both. S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge*. II, *Londres Add.* 19.352 (Paris, 1970), 61 and pl. 113.

⁶² Alpatoff, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

⁶³ Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela*, pl. LXXXIV, 385.

Oaks Psalter.⁶⁴ It depicts the Hebrews in the Furnace and, like the picture in the Vatopedi Psalter (fig. 27a), has preserved from the biblical narrative the workmen fanning the fire. The one man at the extreme right turns around and must have looked at Nebuchadnezzar in the model. But by eliminating the King and the soldiers, the artist has concentrated on the theme of prayer and in this way has made the picture particularly suitable as a title miniature to the Ode. Here, no new praying type was introduced, as in other Ode pictures, because the basic themes of the biblical narrative and the Ode coincide. Moreover, it will be noticed that this miniature is free of classicizing elements; it may well be that in this case they were not considered suitable.

The Theotokos Ode (Luke 1:46–55)

The Psalter archetype apparently illustrated the Theotokos Ode with the two events preceding the Virgin's prayer of the Magnificat, the Annunciation and the Visitation. The former is best preserved in the upper half of a miniature in the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter (fig. 28),⁶⁵ but the latter, which one would have expected in the lower half, is relegated to the small figurative initial M below the miniature proper, where it is replaced by a Virgin to be discussed below. A representation of the Visitation in strip form, however, is preserved in a Psalter in Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. 565, from the end of the eleventh century (fig. 29).⁶⁶ That for each scene an illustrated Gospel book provided the model is so obvious that it need not be demonstrated.

In the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter the lower strip is occupied by a Virgin enthroned holding an open book toward the beholder and pointing at its text, which no doubt is meant to be that of the Ode.⁶⁷ Actually, in a thirteenth-century Psalter leaf from a Sinai manuscript now in Leningrad, Public Library cod. 269, this text is written on the scroll which the Virgin—this time enthroned with the Child—holds in her left hand (fig. 30).⁶⁸ A frontally seated figure singing an Ode was also used for Moses heading the Deuteronomy Ode and some affinity is perhaps intended. But this type of Virgin is rare and seems to have been confined to the branch of Psalters that surround the Paris Psalter (e.g., the Psalter in Berlin, State Library cod. gr. oct. 13), in which the corresponding picture is unfortunately lost. More widespread was the Virgin in profile praying to Heaven (fig. 31)⁶⁹ which better conforms to what might almost be called the "standard" type of the author of an Ode.

In some Psalters, in analogy to all the other Ode pictures, the two scenic representations have been developed into stately full-page miniatures with the

⁶⁴ Der Nersessian, "Psalter and New Testament MS," 159 and fig. 18.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 159, 171, and fig. 22 and frontispiece in color.

⁶⁶ M. Bonicatti, "Un salterio greco miniato del periodo comneno," *Bullettino dell'Archivio paleografico italiano*, N.S. 2–3 (1956–57), 120 and pl. ix.

⁶⁷ O. Pächt, *The St. Albans Psalter* (London, 1960), 65 note 2 and pl. 118d.

⁶⁸ K. Weitzmann, "Eine Pariser-Psalter Kopie des 13. Jahrhunderts auf dem Sinai," *JÖBG*, 6 (1957), 131 f. and fig. 6.

⁶⁹ Another example is London, Brit. Mus. cod. add. 11836, fol. 304v. Both manuscripts belong to the thirteenth century and stylistically to the group of manuscripts around the well-known Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament in Chicago, Univ. Lib. cod. 965.

character of feast icons, as, e.g., the Annunciation in the Athens Psalter, Nat. Lib. cod 7,⁷⁰ and the Visitation in a highly emotionalized rendering in the Palaeologan Psalter in Moscow, Hist. Mus. cod. 25.⁷¹ It should be noted that no classical elements can be discerned in the Dumbarton Oaks miniature, but this is hardly surprising since, generally, because of their greater stress on liturgical aspects, New Testament scenes are comparatively less inductive to the insertion of classical elements.

The Ode of Zacharias (Luke 1:68–79)

The illustration of the Ode of Zacharias was never popular in the aristocratic Psalter recension, and its picture is lacking in most manuscripts; perhaps the text was considered merely a continuation of the Theotokos Ode. The few examples surviving prove, however, that this Ode also was originally prefaced by two scenes. The first, illustrating a passage preceding the Ode text, depicts Zacharias writing the name of John on a tablet, and for this our sole and impressive witness is the Palaeologan Psalter in Moscow (fig. 32).⁷² Here Zacharias assumes the character of an author figure, and certainly he is taken out of the biblical context. In the richly illustrated eleventh-century Gospel Book in Paris, cod. gr. 74, for instance, Elizabeth with the infant John in her arms stands before him, followed by a group of Jewish Elders (fig. 34).⁷³ The second scene represents the prayer proper. In a rather mediocre miniature from the above-mentioned thirteenth-century Psalter in Berlin, State Lib. cod. oct. 13 (fig. 33),⁷⁴ the scene, as is typical in this group of manuscripts, has been reduced to the absolute minimum, with only the half-figure of the praying Zacharias. The miniature following Zacharias writing in the Paris Gospels shows Zacharias pointing at heaven while at the same time he turns around and addresses a group of Elders (fig. 35).⁷⁵ Some such scene may very well have been the source from which the praying author figure derived. The illustration of the Zacharias Ode is the only example among the set of Odes where the transmission is so fragmentary that the normal process of transformation can no longer be demonstrated.

The Ode of Hezekiah (Isa. 38:10–20)

In most of the Ode pictures there is a pattern, insofar as there is depicted first an event preceding the prayer and then the prayer proper; this pattern is followed also in the case of the Hezekiah Ode. This miniature in the Paris Psalter—in contrast to most of the others—has maintained all features of the biblical narrative (fig. 36).⁷⁶ We see the sick King Hezekiah turning his head

⁷⁰ Buberl, *Handschriften Athen*, 15 and pl. xix, 47.

⁷¹ Alpatoff, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 60), 213 and fig. 5.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 208 (not reproduced here).

⁷³ H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI^e siècle*, II (Paris [n.d.]), pl. 94.

⁷⁴ The miniatures of this manuscript are unpublished. Cf. J. J. Tikkanen, *Studien über die Farbengebung in der mittelalterlichen Buchmalerei* (Helsingfors, 1933), 187, 191–92.

⁷⁵ Omont, *Évangiles*, pl. 96.

⁷⁶ Omont, *Miniatures*, 9 and pl. xiv; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 43 and pl. xiv.



1. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi cod. 760, fols. 265^v–266^r, Pursuit of the Egyptians and Arrival at the Red Sea



2. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi cod. 761, fol. 206^v, Crossing of the Red Sea



3. Palermo, Museo Nazionale, Psalter of Queen Constance, fol. 289^v, Arrival at the Red Sea and Dance of Miriam

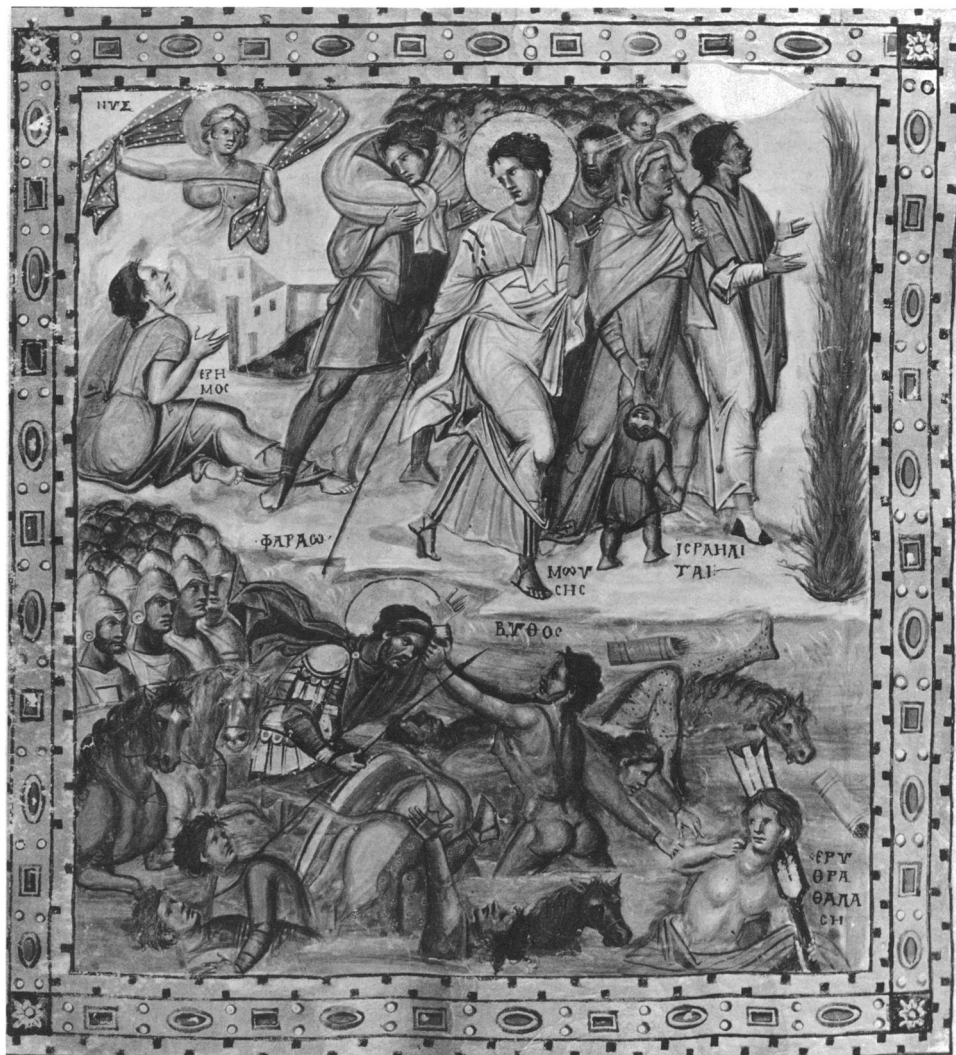


a.



b.

4. New York, Public Library, Spencer cod. gr. 1, fols. 365^r–365^v, Pursuit and Crossing of the Red Sea



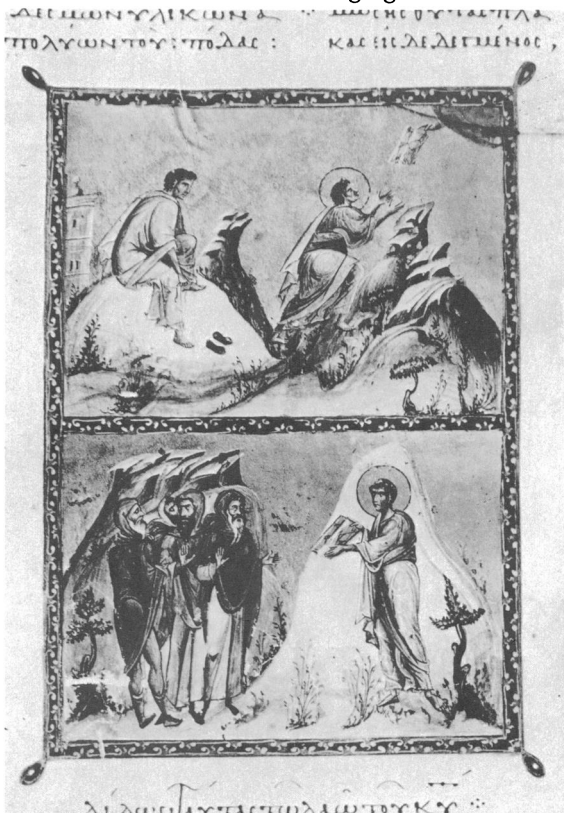
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 139, fol. 419^v, Crossing of the Red Sea



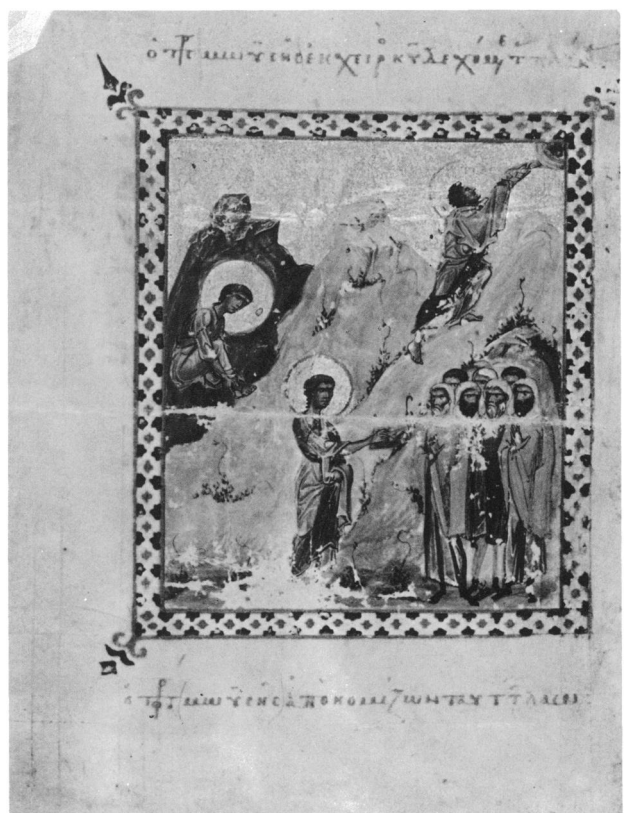
6. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi cod. 760, fol. 270r,
Moses Singing Ode



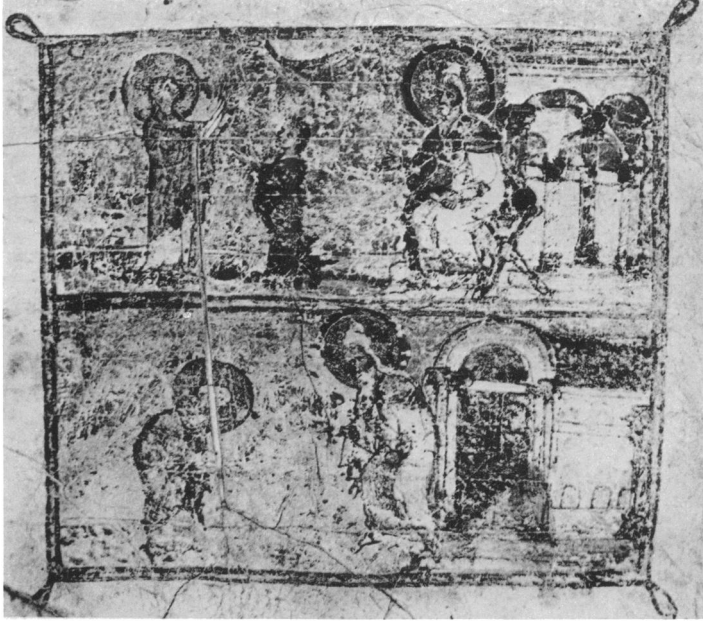
7. London, British Museum, cod. add.
36928, fol. 279v, Moses Singing Ode and
Dance of Miriam



8. Berlin, *olim* Theologisches Seminar,
Psalter, fol. 118v



9. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 530B,
Psalter Leaf



10. Vatican Library, cod. gr. 333, fol. 5r



11. Athens, National Library, cod. 7, fol. 237v



12. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 139, fol. 428v



13. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, cod. 3, fol. 75r



14. Athens, National Library, cod. 15, pag. 240,
Trembling Habakkuk



15. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 510,
fol. 435v, Habakkuk and Daniel



16. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. suppl.
gr. 610, fol. 252v



17. Athens, National Library, cod. 7, fol. 240r

Prayer of Habakkuk



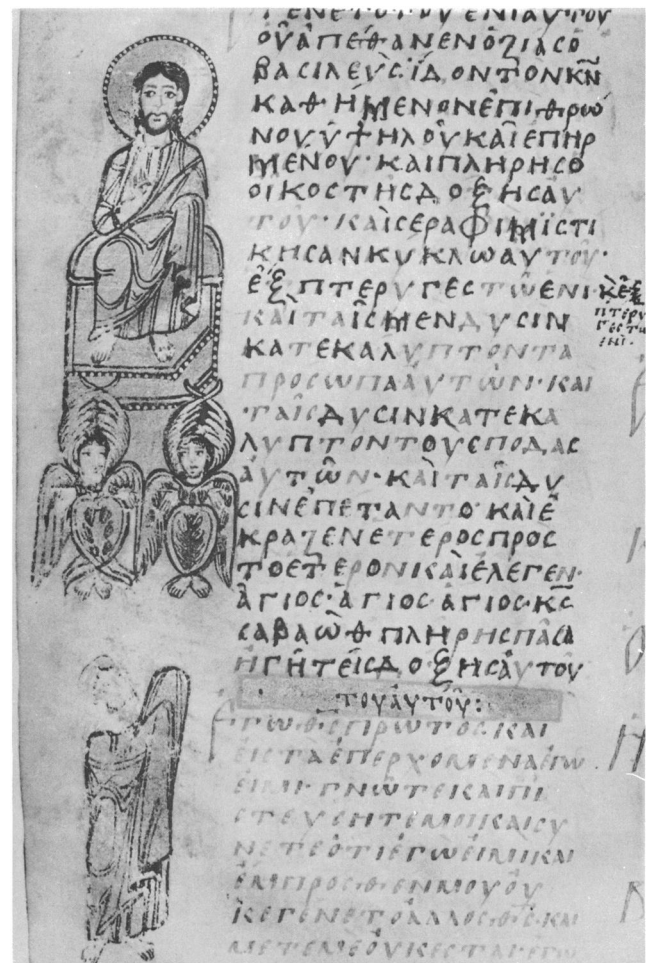
18. Athens, National Library, cod. 15, pag. 242,
Isaiah Seeking the Lord



21. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 139, fol. 435v,
Prayer of Isaiah



19. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi cod. 760, fol. 280v



20. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 923, fol. 39v



a.
22. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi cod. 760, fols. 282^v-283^r, Story of Jonah



b.



23. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
cod. gr. 923, fol. 29^v, Story of Jonah



24. Athens, Benaki Museum. Folio 78^r from
Dumbarton Oaks Psalter, cod. 3,
Prayer of Jonah



25. Fol. 498v, The Three Hebrews before Nebuchadnezzar



26. Fol. 500r, The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace

Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. gr. 25



a.



b.

27. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi cod. 760, fols. 285v–286r, The Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace



28. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, cod. 3, fol. 80v,
The Annunciation and The Theotokos Enthroned



29. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, cod. gr. 565, fol. 341r,
The Visitation



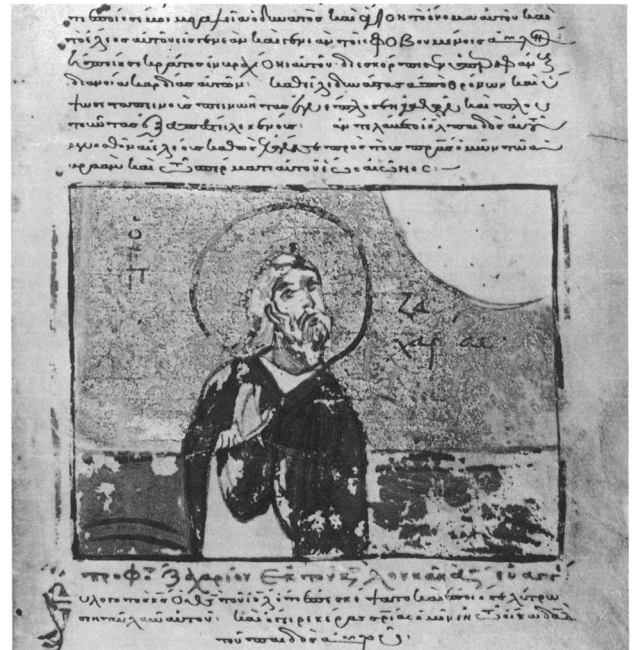
30. Leningrad, Public Library, cod. 269, fol. 4r,
The Theotokos Enthroned



31. Berlin, State Library, cod. gr. oct. 13, fol. 250v,
Prayer of the Virgin



32. Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. gr. 25, fol. 492r,
Zacharias Writing Name of John the Baptist



33. Berlin, State Library, cod. gr. oct. 13, fol. 251r,
Prayer of Zacharias



34.



35.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 74, fol. 107r, Zacharias Writing Name of John
and Pointing to Heaven



36. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 139, fol. 446v,
Sickness and Prayer of Hezekiah



37. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 923, fol. 252v, Sickness and Prayer of Hezekiah



38. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, cod. 3, fol. 81v, Prayer of Hezekiah



39. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
cod. gr. 510, fol. 435v



40. Athens, National Library, cod. 7, fol. 256v

Idol Worship of Manasseh



41. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, cod. 3, fol. 82v



42. New York, Public Library, Spencer cod. gr. 1, fol. 395v

Prayer of Manasseh

while Isaiah—prematurely, as it turns out—prophesies his death, and in the background the sundial and the shadow of the sun turned back ten degrees. After being healed and promised a prolonged life, Hezekiah is shown a second time, praying with his hands covered by the chlamys.

The iconography agrees with that of the illustration of the biblical narrative in the *Sacra Parallela* manuscript in Paris (fig. 37)⁷⁷ where the arrangement in the first scene is the same save that the sick King's gesture of mortal terror is more expressive, and save that in the second scene the King does not have his hands covered and is thus less ritualistic. Here the scenes accompany, properly, verses 1–5 of Isaiah 38, the passage preceding the Ode, and it provides additional proof, already gathered from our discussion of the Ode of Isaiah, that this Prophet Book illustrated with a narrative cycle did indeed exist, and consequently was available to the first illustrator of the Ode.

Behind the bed in the miniature of the Paris Psalter a servant fans the King with a peacock-feather whisk; this figure may well have been in the archetype, since it may have been for lack of space that it was omitted in the two earlier representations, the one in the *Sacra Parallela* and the other in the Paris Gregory, gr. 510, which surely derives from an Ode picture.⁷⁸ However, we consider the personification of Proseuche, whose gesture suggests pensiveness rather than prayer, to be an addition of the Macedonian Renaissance. That the figure of the praying Hezekiah is placed close to the frame at the right is, of course, in accordance with the layout of the Ode pictures in their advanced stage of development. It is not a creation for the Psalter, since the praying King was part of the biblical narrative as seen in the *Sacra Parallela*, but the liturgical aspect is enhanced here by the covering of his hands with the chlamys.

In the course of time this Ode picture also eliminates the purely narrative sickbed scene and concentrates on the prayer, as can be seen in the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter (fig. 38).⁷⁹ The only remnant of the narrative episode is the palace façade at the left, but since the sundial in front of it had become meaningless with the omission of the sickbed scene the artist replaced it with a throne, suggesting that the King had just risen from it before praying. This idea may well have been inspired by the picture of David's Repentance which, in the Paris manuscript⁸⁰ as well as in many other Psalters, depicts David sitting on the throne before he rises and throws himself to the ground to pray in proskynesis. The proskynesis of King Hezekiah may have been inspired by that of King David, and this is all the more likely since for the personification of Prayer the artist did not employ the type of the Hezekiah picture of the Paris Psalter but rather that of the Repentance of David in the same manuscript. Here, then, was found a solution to balance the classicizing and the liturgical elements while excluding the narrative ones.

⁷⁷ K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), 80 and pl. LXXXVI, 543; *idem*, *Sacra Parallela*, pl. LXXIX, 357.

⁷⁸ Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. LVII; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 43 and pl. xxvii, 82; Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 149 and pl. xli, 137.

⁷⁹ Der Nersessian, "Psalter and New Testament MS," 159, 172, and fig. 24.

⁸⁰ Omont, *Miniatures*, 8 and pl. viii; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 27 and pl. viii.

The Ode of Manasseh (2 Chron. 33:12–19)

The last Ode picture, that facing the prayer of Manasseh, also follows the usual pattern, depicting first a scene preceding the prayer and then the prayer itself. In his early life Manasseh was a worshiper of idols, and so we see him in a miniature in the Paris Gregory, gr. 510 (fig. 39),⁸¹ in orant posture behind the idol whose shape is not described in the Bible text. Thus the artist had to seek his own solution and apparently adapted the image of Aaron's Golden Calf. The story is told at the beginning of chapter 33 of 2 Chronicles, and although no illustrated copy of this book of the Septuagint survives, it nevertheless can be proved, once more through the *Sacra Parallela* manuscript in Paris, that both Books of Chronicles existed with narrative illustration.⁸² These illustrations are few and the Manasseh scene is not among them; considering the fact that illustrations of the basic texts could be traced in all previous Ode pictures, this is more than one might have expected in view of the fragmentary preservation of the once vast Septuagint cycles. The worship of the bull idol occurs a second time in the Psalter in Athens, cod. 7 (fig. 40),⁸³ with two additions: one is an altar with flames, suggesting that burnt offerings were made to the idol; the other is the Hand of God in the upper right corner, whereby Manasseh is represented in the dual role of worshipping the idol as well as the Lord after his change of heart. This clearly speaks for a conflation of two scenes, leading to a contradictory solution.

That the scene of Manasseh praying to the Lord existed as a separate picture is indicated by a miniature in the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter (fig. 41).⁸⁴ Here Manasseh is depicted standing with veiled hands, quite similar to the praying Hezekiah in the Paris Psalter. As in the Hezekiah picture of both the Paris and the Pantocrator Psalters (figs. 36 and 38), the King is incited to prayer by a personification, which, however, is different from those of the Hezekiah pictures. She is depicted as a stately woman in frontal view, clad in the rather seldom copied ancient *peplos*. A frontal figure similarly clothed occurs in the Paris Psalter in the miniature of the Daughters of Israel dancing before David and Saul,⁸⁵ a figure whose derivation from that of Iphigeneia I have demonstrated elsewhere.⁸⁶ Both figures seem to be based on the same model, and the only adjustment in the Manasseh picture is the awkward raising of her left arm.

But, as for Hezekiah in the Dumbarton Oaks Psalter, for Manasseh also the final step in the development depicts him in devout proskynesis, of which a thirteenth-century Psalter in the Benaki Museum provides an example.⁸⁷ A strange conflation of the earliest and the latest stages of development occurs in the twelfth–thirteenth-century Psalter in the Public Library in New York

⁸¹ Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. LVII; Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 149 and pl. XLI, 137.

⁸² Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 133 and pl. xxxvi, 114; *idem*, in *Studies*, 57 and fig. 36; *idem*, *Sacra Parallela*, pls. XLIX, 181–L, 184.

⁸³ Buberl, *Handschriften Athen*, 15 and pl. xix, 48 (here wrongly described as the Prayer of Hezekiah).

⁸⁴ Der Nersessian, "Psalter and New Testament MS," 160, 172, and fig. 25.

⁸⁵ Omont, *Miniatures*, 7 and pl. v; Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, 23 and pl. v.

⁸⁶ K. Weitzmann, "Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art," *Hesperia*, 18 (1949), 177ff. and pls. 32–36.

⁸⁷ Cod. Vitr. 34–12, fol. 192r. Its picture cycle is unpublished.

(fig. 42),⁸⁸ in which the graven image, a bull of gigantic size engulfed in flames, harbors in its belly a tiny figure of Manasseh in proskynesis. The enclosing of Manasseh within the bull may well have been inspired by, though it is not a literal illustration of, an apocryphal story told in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, where Manasseh the idolater "was cast into a brazen horse and the brazen horse was melted." Although we deal here with a horse, not a bull, it is obviously another variant of the same episode.⁸⁹

The four stages of transformation which can be demonstrated in varying detail in most of the Ode pictures follow a pattern which can also be observed in the Gospel Lectionary, the most important of all the liturgical books. In this case, too, the first phase is the biblical narrative, i.e., the Gospel illustration, for which the tradition was—as for the Octateuchs and the Books of Kings—the strip picture in the text column, as witnessed by the prolific cycles of the eleventh-century Gospel books in Paris and Florence.⁹⁰ In the earliest extant luxurious Lectionary, the fragment in the Public Library in Leningrad, cod. 21, there are a few cases where, as in some Psalter pictures (figs. 3, 7, 8), two narrative Gospel scenes are superimposed to form a stately full-page miniature, for example, the Miracle of Cana or the Entombment of Christ and the mourning Maries.⁹¹

The second phase, where a monoscenic full-page miniature begins to supplant the superimposed strips, can also be demonstrated by the Leningrad Lectionary fragment. Naturally, it asserts itself first and most lastingly in connection with the cycle of the great feasts of the Church, where the impact of icon painting most likely played a leading role. But the new principle is equally applied to other scenes which are not great feasts, for instance, the Mission of the Apostles and Christ being given the Book of Isaiah,⁹² scenes which are important in the lectionary because they mark the end of the movable and the beginning of the calendar year. We do not know when this transformation started, but it is at least as early as the ninth century because we find the same mixture of strip- and full-page pictures in some New Testament scenes in the Gregory manuscript Paris. gr. 510 which we have every reason to believe were taken over from a luxurious lectionary. Some healing scenes are depicted in superimposed strips,⁹³ while great feast pictures such as the Metamorphosis or Pentecost⁹⁴ cover full pages. On the other hand the Mission of the Apostles, a full-page miniature in the Leningrad fragment, is still in its original strip form.⁹⁵

The tenth-century Macedonian Renaissance also created a Lectionary—analogue to the Paris Psalter—of which, unfortunately, no copy has come

⁸⁸ Catalogue of the Princeton Exhibition (*supra*, note 14), 170 and fig. 85.

⁸⁹ R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, II (Oxford, 1913), 515.

⁹⁰ The codex in Paris, gr. 74, cf. Omont, *Evangelies*, and the codex in Florence, Laurent. Lib., Plut. VI, 23, cf. T. Velmans, *Le Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne* (Paris 1971).

⁹¹ C. R. Morey, "Notes on East Christian Miniatures" (*supra*, note 1), 65 and fig. 76; 84 and fig. 100.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 62 and fig. 71; 79 and fig. 94.

⁹³ Omont, *Miniatures*, pls. XLV–XLVI.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pls. XXVIII and XLIV.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. LVI.

down to us, but which, as I have recently tried to demonstrate, can be reconstructed from later miniatures and contemporary copies in ivory.⁹⁶ It is in the nature of the subject matter that classical elements were not as appropriate in a New Testament as in a Psalter, but wherever they occur they point in many instances to the same sources so that it may be assumed that the Renaissance Psalter and the Renaissance Lectionary were created in the same atelier, probably at the imperial court.

The fourth phase, which, to intensify the liturgical character, led at times to the creation of new subjects like the Virgin enthroned of the Theotokos Ode (fig. 30), has also a parallel in lectionary illustration. In the twelfth-century Lectionary on Mount Athos, Panteleimon cod. 2, the Presentation in the Temple is preceded by a unique representation of Simeon before the Virgin enthroned with Child.⁹⁷ It is a supplementary scene just as the enthroned Virgin in the Psalter is supplementary to the Annunciation.

In their broader aspect the four phases of transformation reflect the development of Byzantine art in general; the transformations from the narrative Early Christian phase to more selective principles which develop some pictures into hieratic and monumental compositions, the infusion of classical elements during the tenth century, and their gradual repression and replacement by more severe and liturgical concepts can be traced in all categories and media of the representational arts of Byzantium.

⁹⁶ K. Weitzmann, "A 10th Century Lectionary. A Lost Masterpiece of the Macedonian Renaissance," *RESEE*, 9 (1971), 617ff.

⁹⁷ Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, 153 and pl. XLII, 142-43.